

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 OMB-01 EB-08 TRSE-00 NEA-10  
/102 W

-----078098 201325Z /46

P 200920Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4528  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1039

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: JA UR CH PEPR  
SUBJECT: LOCAL SOVIET EMBASSY COMMENTS ON SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS  
IN AFTERMATH OF SONODA VISIT TO MOSCOW

REF: TOKYO 0722

SUMMARY: IN COMMENTING ON FONMIN SONODA'S MOSCOW VISIT, LOCAL  
SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICIALS HAVE GIVEN PRO FORMA POSITIVE CAST  
TO UNPRODUCTIVE NATURE OF TALKS, BUT READILY ADMITTED THAT  
SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN BILATERAL POLITICAL RELATIONS ARE  
UNLIKELY FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THEY TOOK SPECIAL PAINS TO  
WARN, HOWEVER, THAT CONCLUSION OF SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND  
FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) WOULD HAVE SERIOUS NEGATIVE EFFECTS  
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ON TOKYO-MOSCOW RELATIONS. IN LONG-TERM, THEY DID NOT  
BELIEVE JAPANESE WOULD ALLOW POLITICAL PROBLEMS TO IMPEDE  
INCREASED BILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR POLYANSKIY SET TONE OF LOCAL SOVIET  
EMBASSY'S PUBLIC LINE ON RECENT SONODA VISIT TO  
MOSCOW BY DESCRIBING IT AS "FRANK AND BUSINESSLIKE"

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS USEFUL IN PROMOTING BETTER RELATIONS. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, POLYANSKIY'S REMARKS CAME AT MEETING OF NATIONAL POLICY RESEARCH ASSOCIATION STUDY GROUP OF CONSERVATIVE -- AND BASICALLY PRO-TAIWAN -- POLITICIANS; HIS PRESENCE WAS READ BY SOME AS PART OF SOVIET LOBBYING ATTEMPT AGAINST PROPOSED PFT WITH PRC. IN GESTURE PERHAPS ALL TOO TYPICAL OF SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS, HOWEVER, POLYANSKIY THEN UNDERCUT HIS FORMAL COMMENTS BY BLUNDERING INTO WELL-PUBLICIZED EXCHANGE OF DISCOURTESIES WITH FORMER VICE FONMIN HOGEN, WHO MAKES NO SECRET OF HIS ANTI-SOVIET SYMPATHIES.

2. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELOR KOMAROVSKIY WELCOMED OPPORTUNITY TO OFFER HIS INTERPRETATION OF SONODA VISIT, PARTICULARLY INASMUCH AS HE FELT JAPANESE MEDIA COMMENTARY ON MOSCOW TALKS HAD BEEN MISLEADING. IN LINE WITH POLYANSKIY, KOMAROVSKIY CAREFULLY ACCENTUATED POSITIVE ASPECTS OF TALKS BUT EXPRESSED SOME REGRET THAT JAPANESE FONMIN HAD PRESSED ISSUE OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES TO POINT OF SUMMARILY REJECTING SOVIET DRAFT OF GOOD-NEIGHBOR TREATY. KOMAROVSKIY RECOGNIZED THAT, GIVEN STRENGTH AND PERSISTENCE OF JAPANESE FEELINGS ABOUT DISPUTED ISLANDS, SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL RELATIONS WAS UNLIKELY FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THOUGH  
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DESIROUS OF EVENTUALLY CONCLUDING PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN SOVIET UNION NEVERTHELESS CONSIDERED PRESENT STATE OF DAY-TO-DAY RELATIONS AS ACCEPTABLE.

3. THIS SITUATION WOULD CHANGE, KOMAROVSKIY WARNED, SHOULD JAPAN ACCEDE TO PFT WITH CHINA CONTAINING ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. HE TOOK PAINS TO REFUTE JAPANESE PRESS ARTICLES WHICH HAD INTERPRETED RELATIVE MILDNESS OF SOVIET COMMENTS TO SONODA ON CHINA AS INDICATION OF DIMINISHED SOVIET APPREHENSIONS OVER SINO-JAPANESE PFT. "OBSERVER" ARTICLE IN NOVEMBER 26 PRAVDA, HE ASSERTED REMAINED AUTHORITATIVE EXPRESSION OF SOVIET UNION'S STRONG CONCERN OVER ANTI-SOVIET CONNOTATIONS OF PFT. JAPANESE SIGNATURE OF TREATY, HE NOTED, MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER WOULD CAUSE SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS TO SUFFER "IN ALL ASPECTS AND WITHOUT EXCEPTION."

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
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/102 W

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P 200920Z JAN 78  
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CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

4. KOMAROVSKIY OFFERED PERSONAL ASSESSMENT THAT JAPANESE  
WOULD REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINESE ON PFT IN NEAR  
FUTURE. HE THOUGHT JAPANESE ATTEMPTS TO SOFTEN ANTI-  
HEGEMONY CLAUSE WOULD PROBABLY FAIL, SO THAT IT WAS  
QUITE POSSIBLE THAT TREATY MIGHT BE SIGNED THIS  
SPRING CONTAINING LANGUAGE UNACCEPTABLE TO SOVIET  
UNION. HE TOOK NOTE OF FONMIN SONODA'S DENIAL OF  
ANY ANTI-SOVIET INTENT ON PART OF JAPAN IN CONCLUDING  
PFT, AND AFTER SOME HESITATION, ADMITTED THAT MERE  
SIGNATURE OF TREATY WAS UNLIKELY TO MOVE JAPAN TO  
COLLABORATE ACTIVELY WITH CHINESE IN CONCRETE ANTI-  
SOVIET ACTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, HE WENT ON, JAPANESE  
ACCEPTANCE OF CHINESE ANTI-HEGEMONY LANGUAGE WOULD  
REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT MORAL AND PROPAGANDA VICTORY  
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FOR PEKING'S ANTI-SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH  
CHINESE WOULD ATTEMPT TO CAPITALIZE ON ELSEWHERE IN  
WORLD. SOVIET LEADERSHIP WOULD FOCUS ON THIS FACT  
AND NOT JAPANESE DISCLAIMERS, HOWEVER SINCERE. THIS

WOULD INEVITABLY COLOR SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S  
PERCEPTIONS OF JAPAN AND INFLUENCE IN MOST NEGATIVE  
WAY THEIR FUTURE DECISIONS ON BILATERAL RELATIONS.

5. IN LONG RUN, KOMAROVSKIY OBSERVED, JAPAN WOULD  
INEVITABLY MOVE CLOSER TO SOVIET UNION FOR ECONOMIC  
REASONS, PRIMARILY OUT OF DESIRE FOR PROFITS AND  
SIBERIAN RESOURCES. HE STATED FLATLY THAT IN FINAL  
ANALYSIS JAPANESE WOULD NOT ALLOW POLITICAL  
FRICTIONS TO IMPEDE INCREASED ECONOMIC TIES WITH  
SOVIET UNION. KEY ILLUSTRATION OF JAPANESE  
INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR, HE NOTED, WAS JAPAN'S  
POST-OIL SHOCK UNSEEMLY SCRAMBLE FOR ASSURED OIL  
SUPPLY THROUGH OVERNIGHT REVERSAL OF PRO-ISRAELI  
POLICY TO SUPPORT FOR ARABS.

6. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, SOVIET  
EMBASSY CHINA-WATCHER KOVALENKO ESSENTIALLY PARALLELED  
KOMAROVSKIY'S PRESENTATION, EXPRESSING SATISFACTION  
WITH OUTCOME OF SONODA VISIT. REFLECTING SOVIET  
PRACTICE IN MANAGING SUCH AFFAIRS, HE NOTED THAT  
SOVIET EMBASSY HAD READ LACK OF ANTI-SOVIET  
DEMONSTRATIONS FOLLOWING SONODA'S RETURN AS FRIENDLY  
GESTURE BY GOJ. KOVALENKO ALSO PRESSED HARD  
SOVIET WARNINGS IN REGARD TO SINO-JAPANESE PFT:  
"THE MIG-25 INCIDENT CAUSED (JAPAN-SOVIET) RELATIONS  
TO SUFFER FOR ALMOST ONE YEAR; IF THE PFT IS SIGNED,  
EFFECTS WILL BE MUCH WORSE AND LAST LONGER."  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PEPR, JA, UR, CH  
**To:** STATE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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